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## EARLY TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GERMANS AND THE SLAVS

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The history of German eastward expansion in the Middle Ages is the *Vorgeschichte* of the Hanseatic League. Unfortunately few Hanseatic historical writers go back of the founding of Lübeck in 1143, and none farther than Lothar's diploma of 1134. It is true that effective commercial life did not begin in North Germany until the rise of Lübeck. But the founding of Lübeck was as much the term of one epoch as it was the point of departure for a new period. Bächtold in his excellent *Der norddeutsche Handel im 12. und beginnenden 13. Jahrhundert*<sup>1</sup> perceived that the history of the genesis of the Hanse had not received its due proportion of treatment; but the limitations of his subject prevented him from going farther back than the twelfth century. It is this neglected aspect of the history of medieval German commerce which I have tried to relate in this article.

In spite of the immemorial antagonism between the two races, from early times a certain amount of border trade seems always to have existed between the Germans and the Slavs. Desire for commercial aggrandizement was a not unimportant motive of German eastward expansion and subjugation of the Slavs.<sup>2</sup> As far back as the first half of the seventh century there is mention of adventurous Frankish traders penetrating into the Slavonic wilderness, bartering for slaves, amber, and beaver and martin skins.

<sup>1</sup> Rothschild, Berlin and Leipzig, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> "Kaufleute, Krieger und Priester," Wendt, *Die Germanisierung der Länder östlich der Elbe*, I, 10 (Liegnitz, 1884). Bugge, "Die nordeuropäischen Verkehrswege im frühen Mittelalter," *Vierteljahrschrift f. soz. und wirtschaftsgesch.*, IV, 237, has written: "Die grösste Bedeutung der nördlichen Völker für die Handelsgeschichte liegt doch darin, dass sie überall im Auslande, wo sie im 9., 10. und 11. Jahrhundert als Eroberer hinkamen, Städte und Handelsniederlassungen gründeten. Dadurch wurde dem ganzen Verkehrsleben des nördlichen Europas neues Leben eingehaucht und der Welthandel in neue Bahnen gelenkt."

In the reign of Dagobert I (629-39) an alleged renegade Frankish trader named Samo established commercial relations with the pagan Bohemians, Moravians, and Carinthians, and is said finally to have abjured Christianity and to have established a short-lived barbarian state which extended from the Drave and Silesia<sup>1</sup> to the frontier of Thuringia, and which was powerful enough to defeat the Frankish arms and important enough to have its alliance sought by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius.<sup>2</sup>

That a brisk commercial intercourse between the Frankish state and Samo's kingdom existed in the seventh century is evident from the incident that some Frankish merchants were

<sup>1</sup> Grünhagen, *Gesch. Schlesiens*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Fredegar, *Chronicon*, IV, 48, "ex pago Senonago" (cf. 68 and 75). Usually this reading has been accepted as meaning Sens or Soignies. If so this would make Samo a Frank. But there is room for doubt. Apart from the dubious geographical reading and translation thereof, the name Samo does not sound like a German name, but a Slav. Certain it is that Czech tradition has connected Samo with the Bohemian national house of Přemysel-Schreuer, *Vierteljahrschrift f. soz. und wirtschaftsgesch.*, V, No. 2, 1907, pp. 197-213; Goldmann, *Mitteil. d. Inst. für oesterr. Gesch.*, XXX, No. 2, 1909; Schafarik, *Slawische Alterthümer*, II, 416-20. For the extension of Samo's rule to Thuringia, Peisker, *Cambridge Med. Hist.*, II, 451, and note. For Samo and the Slavs in Carinthia, J. Goll, "Samo und die Karantischen Slawen," *Mitteil. d. Inst. für oesterr. Gesch.*, XI (1890), 443-46; Inama Sternegg, *DWG*, I, 234; Schulze, *Die Kolonisierung und Germanisierung der Gebiete zwischen Saale und Elbe*, 5-7; Meitzen, *Siedlung und Agrarwesen*, II, 150, 405-6; Lippert, *Sozial-Gesch. Böhmens*, I, 219, all notice the trade importance of this item.

Peisker, in his article on the expansion of the Slavs in the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, II, 451, argues that the chronology of Samo's reign must be corrected, for his overthrow of the Avars must have taken place some time between 602 and 605, most probably in 603. He points out that the revolt of the Croats and the Serbs, and finally the Bulgar Khan's revolt, followed in the years between 635 and 641. However, other dates also in Peisker's article differ from those commonly accepted, and no explanation is offered for this change of chronology. It is interesting to note in this connection, however, that another circumstance seems to favor Peisker's contention. According to his chronology, Samo died about the year 637-40. Herzog Radulf (Fred., IV, 75, 77) was put in command of Thuringia, to protect that territory from the inroads of the Slavs. He, however, became involved in some difficulties with Sigibert, the son of Dagobert, and finally rebelled against him. In order to strengthen his position, he sought alliance with the neighboring peoples, and most probably with the Bohemian Slavs also. This was in 641 (Fred., IV, 77, 87), and it is noteworthy that the name of Samo—who certainly was an outstanding character and was well known to the chronicler—is not mentioned. This would indicate that he may have been dead by that time.

killed in Bohemia in 631, and when King Dagobert sent an ambassador to Samo, this untactful messenger insulted him and Samo had him literally thrown out of the country.<sup>1</sup> After that, Dagobert invaded the country with an army composed of Alamanni, Bavarians, and even of the Longobards from Italy, but was decisively defeated at Wogastiburc. As a positive result of this victory of Samo's, the Sorben chieftain Drevan fell away from his allegiance to the Frankish state and joined Samo's kingdom. Samo became thoroughly domesticated in the country of his adoption, and is said to have married at least twelve wives; if we may believe Fredegar, he had twenty-two sons and fifteen daughters. He ruled thirty-five years; when he died, the great territory which he had consolidated seems to have fallen back into its component parts again.

In the next century the *Life of Sturmi*, Boniface's disciple, and abbot of Fulda, who died in 779, shows that a regular trade route ran from the Saale River to Mainz through the Thuringian Forest.<sup>2</sup> In 805 (probably, the date is not certain) Charlemagne for the first time legislated in regulation of this border traffic, and established a chain of fortified trading posts along the Slavonic frontier from the mouth of the Elbe to the middle Danube. These posts were Bardwick and Schesel (near later Hamburg), Erfurt in Saxony, Magdeburg on the great bend of the Elbe, Halzstat (near later Bamberg), Pfreimt (in the later Ober Pfalz), at the confluence of the Wald Nab and the Pfreimt to form the Nab, Forcheim, Lorsch, and Regensburg on the Danube at the mouth of the Nab.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Frankish sources are silent as to the nature of this border trade, except the mention of arms, the exportation

<sup>1</sup> Fred., "aejectus est Sicharius de conspectu Samonis."

<sup>2</sup> "Tunc quadam die . . . pervenit ad viam a Turingorum regione mercandi causa ad Magontiam pergentes ducit . . . ibi magnam Sclavorum multitudinem reperit." *MGH*, SS. II, 369, ch. 7. Cf. Rettberg, *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*, I, 372; Dopsch, *Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, II, 191.

<sup>3</sup> Cap. Miss. in Theodonis Villa, c. 7, *MGH*, SS. XI, 1, p. 133; ed. Boretius, 123, No. 44. For discussion of this legislation see Schulze, *op. cit.*, 13-14; Dopsch, *Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, II, 190; Waitz, *Deutscheverfassungsgesch.*, IV (2d ed.), 51; Mühlbacher, *Deutsche Gesch.*, 285; Wendt, I, 21-22. For the location of these posts, see Maps 26A, 26B in *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, II.

of which Charlemagne forbade, we know from other evidence what its character must have been. This evidence has to do with the economy of the Baltic Slavs. Modern research has shown that the original home of the Slav race was probably in the great Pripet Marsh region of Western Russia, an area as large as Ireland,<sup>1</sup> whence it spread over the whole of Eastern and Central Europe, becoming divided into two great branches, the Northern and the Southern Slavs, and still further separated into various tribes.

They were a lowland people by nature, and the Western or Baltic Slavs in the course of their expansion found a natural habitat in the vast marsh and lake region of modern Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Pomerania. Even at the present time these regions abound with lakes. There are 329 in Mecklenburg, the largest of which is the Schweriner See; and more than 450 in east Prussia. Geologists estimate that in the twelfth century there were over 2,000 lakes in east Prussia alone. Medieval chroniclers show, and modern geology confirms their statements, that the whole territory in the valleys of the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula in the Middle Ages was dotted with lakes and ponds and covered with swamps.

In such a country only the dry islets were capable of cultivation, so that the agriculture of the Baltic Slavs was never as highly developed as that of the Germans. Cattle were scarce and horses even rarer. Two oxen or one horse was reckoned to the "ploughland," which shows that the farms of the Slavs were small. Their plow was a tree, the trunk being the beam and the lopped-off projection of a strong limb the ploughshare. It had no share and no edge.<sup>2</sup>

Bee-keeping with all Slavonic peoples almost amounts to a passion, and the Baltic Slavs plied a brisk trade with the Germans

<sup>1</sup> See the remarkable chapter in *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, ch. 14 by Peisker, on the origin and expansion of the Slavs.

<sup>2</sup> For contemporary comment, see Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum*, I, 12, 14, 88; Heinrici, *Chron. Lyvonial*, II, 7; *Monumenta Lubensia* (ed. Wattenbach), 15. For modern commentary, Langenthal, *Gesch. der deutschen Landwirtschaft*, I, 51, 96, 379; II, 246; Von der Goltz, *Gesch. der deutschen Landwirtschaft*, I, 128-29; Dopsch, II, 136; Michael, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, 100.

in honey and wax for church candles and the sealing of documents.<sup>1</sup> Flax was much grown in the lowlands, and linen cloth or canvas an article of export.<sup>2</sup> Herbordus, the biographer of Otto of Bamberg, the apostle to the Pomeranians in the first quarter of the twelfth century, says that the Pomeranians wore shirts and trousers made of linen in summer.<sup>3</sup> Before this time, when German coin began to circulate among them,<sup>4</sup> strips of linen passed as currency like wampum among the American Indians in early colonial times. Weaving, pottery-making, and wood-carving were the principal industrial occupations.<sup>5</sup> Fishing, both fresh- and salt-water fishing, was a universal means of livelihood. Like the Norse, the Slavs of the Baltic coast were pirates and slave traders.<sup>6</sup>

We know nothing about the trade intercourse between the Germans and the Slavs in the ninth century, and it may be doubted if, in those tumultuous days of the break-up of the Frankish Empire, there was much. On the other hand, the Danes, with whom piracy and trade went hand in hand,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The church in Otto I's reign collected the Slav tithe in honey (*MGH*, Dip. I, 418, 603; II, 40). Payments in wax, furs, hemp, and flax also are recorded. Silver is first heard of along the Wendish border in 965 (Guttman, *Forschungen zur brand und preuss. Gesch.*, IX, 416. Cf. my article "The German Church and the Baltic Slavs," in *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1916, p. 216, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Adam of Bremen, II, 19; IV, 18; Helmold, I, 12, 14, 88. The merchants in Wagria in the time of Vicelin (1127) must have been buyers of Slav linen and furs.

<sup>3</sup> Herbordus, *Vita Ottonis Ep. Babenb.*, II, 28. These linens were sometimes embroidered (*picturala*).

<sup>4</sup> Helmold, I, 38 (ed. Schmeidler, pp. 76-77). "Porro apud Ranos (Rugians) non habetur moneta, nec est in comparandis rebus nummorum consuetudo, sed quicquid in foro mercari volueris, panno lineo comparabis. Aurum et argentum quod forte per rapinas ey captiones hominum vel undecumque adepti sunt, aut uxorum suarum cultibus impendunt, aut in erarium dei confernt." Saxo Grammaticus describes at length the great Slav temple at Arcona sacred to the god Svantovit, with the tributes brought thither from all Slavonia. See English transl. by O. Elton, 393-95.

<sup>5</sup> Herbordus, II, 32.

<sup>6</sup> Giesebrecht, *Wendische Geschichten*, I, 205 f. See my article "The German Church and the Baltic Slavs," in *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1916, p. 222.

<sup>7</sup> See my article, "The Commerce of France in Ninth Century," in *Journal of Political Economy*, November, 1915, pp. 865-67; Bugge, *loc. cit.*; Dopsch, II, 183-86.

established commercial relations with the Slavs of the Baltic early in the period of their expansion. The little port of Reric (near later Wismar which was not founded until 1237), where the Danes had got a foothold on the mainland, is mentioned in the *Annals* of Einhard (anno 808) as being frequented by Danish merchants.<sup>1</sup> These traders were chiefly men of Schleswig, from the port of Hadeby.<sup>2</sup> Fish and fur were the principal articles of trade, the importance of the former appearing as early as the ninth century;<sup>3</sup> as for fur, a yearly gift of martins' skins was exacted by the Danish king of the Schleswiger merchants as late as the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup>

At the end of the tenth century, the piracy of the Danes, while not yet wholly abandoned,<sup>5</sup> had passed through the stage of foray. Their expeditions in the time of Harold Bluetooth, (935-85) Sweyn (985-1014), and Knut (1014-35) took the form of territorial conquest and commercial expansion beyond sea. The Baltic policy of Denmark was to get a foothold at the mouths of the rivers, and so control the Wendish trade. The most important of such possessions was Jomsburg, on the island of Wollin at the mouth of the Oder, the seat of the famous brotherhood of pirates known as the Jomsvikings, which seems to have been established in the time of Harold Bluetooth.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bugge, *op. cit.*, p. 237, n. 243; Biereye, *Beiträge zur Gesch. Nordalbingiens im 10. Jahrhundert* (Berlin diss., 1909), 15.

<sup>2</sup> Biereye, *op. cit.*, 9 and n. 2; Bügge, *op. cit.*, 232-33. Schwerin is first mentioned in 1018 by Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IX, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Herbordus, II, 1, p. 51; Vogel, *Hansisches Geschichtsblätter*, 1907, Heft, I, 156.

<sup>4</sup> Biereye, *op. cit.*, 9, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> For a mass of evidence, Richter, *Annalen der deutschen Gesch.*, III, 154-55.

<sup>6</sup> Wollin—or at least the Slav tribe Vuloini, whence the name came—is first mentioned by Widukind, *Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum*, III, c. 69 (anno 967). Cf. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburg, Eccl. Pontif.*, II, 19, Herbordus, *Dialogus*, II, 24 and 34. The *Vita Ottonis*, II, 7, severally describe it under the name of Jumna or Jummeta in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was the seat of the famous Jomsburg vikings, on which see Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopädie*, XXII, 370-78; Bugge, *op. cit.*, 242-43; Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest*, 154-57. Giesebrecht, *op. cit.*, I, 205, thinks Wollin was the present Swinemünde. But all other historians and philologists like Schafarik, *Slawische*

Wollin, which must have been the chief point of connection between the Danish-Baltic trade and that of Eastern and South-eastern Europe,<sup>1</sup> reached its height in the first half of the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> While Rurik and the Swedes in the ninth century had opened the famous Varangian Route from the Baltic to the Black Sea and Constantinople via Lake Ladoga, Novgorod, and the Dnieper, yet the shortest route between the two seas was across the isthmus via the Oder or the Vistula to Cracow and thence down the Pruth or Dniester.<sup>3</sup>

But independently of this Wendish-Byzantine commerce, the nearer commerce of the Baltic Slavs was worth striving for by Denmark. Stettin, at the mouth of the Peene, Danzig at the mouth of the Vistula, were rivals of Wollin, while inland the Slav towns of Wiligrad (Mecklenburg), Stargard (Oldenburg), and Schwerin, which has preserved its original Wendish name,

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*Alterthümer*, II, 576, Kemplin, *Baltische Studien*, XIII, 1, are agreed that Jomsburg, Wollin, Jumna, Jummeta, Vineta, were one and the same place. Another port, Truso, now Drausen, near the mouth of the Vistula, is mentioned in the travels of Wulfston by Alfred the Great (see Sweet's ed. of *A.-S. Orosius*, 19). Whether the Danes were trading there as early as the tenth century is not known (Bugge, *op. cit.*, p. 238).

<sup>1</sup> " . . . apud Sliaswig, quae et Heidaba dicitur. . . . Ex eo portu naves emitti solent in Slavaniam vel Suediam vel ad Semlant usque in Graciam."—Adam of Bremen, *Descriptio Insularum Aquilonis*, c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See the long description of it in Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, etc., II, 19. For the magnitude and extent of Danish trade at this time, in addition to the article by Bugge already cited, see *Baltische Studien von der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Alterthumskunde* (Stettin, 1835-92), Nos. 7, 13, 25.

<sup>3</sup> There is a very extensive literature upon the subject of early Balto-Slavonic-Byzantine commerce. See Peisker, *Vierteljahrschrift f. soz. und wirtsch. Gesch.*, III, Nos. 2, 3, 4 (1905); Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, I, 68-86; Wilken, "Die Verhältnisse der Russen zum byzant. Reich im 9.-12. Jahrh.," *Abhandl. der Berl. Akad.*, 1829, pp. 75 ff.; Lelewel, "Tableau historique du commerce des Slavons," *Numismatique du Moyen-Age*, Part III, pp. 98 ff.; Jacob, *Der nordisch-baltische Handel der Araber im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1887 (with bib., 126-27); Bugge, "Der Untergang der norwegischen Schifffahrt," *Vierteljahrschrift für soz. und wirtschaftl. Gesch.*, XII, 1, 245-50; Bury, *History of Eastern Roman Empire* (802-67), 402 f. Guttman, *Forschungen zur brand. und preuss. Gesch.*, IX, 399-400; Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, III, 346-51; Fisher, *Mediaeval Empire*, II, 4-5; Wendt, *Germanisierung der Länder östlich d. Elbe*, I, 14-15; Schumann, *Baltische Studien*, N.F., VI (1902); Fiddichow, *Monatsbl. v. d. Gesellschaft für pom. Gesch.*, 1896.

were important places long before Bremen and Hamburg and Lübeck, the last of which was not founded until 1143.<sup>1</sup>

The long and bloody warfare waged against the Baltic Slavs by the Saxon Germans was partly motivated by religious bigotry, partly by land-hunger, and partly by a wish to acquire possession of the mouths of the rivers flowing into the Baltic, in order to control the Wendish<sup>2</sup> trade. The means of conquest were the sword, the cross, and the plow (*Das Schwert, das Kreuz und der Pflug*). The decline of Danish power after the death of Knut (1035) facilitated this purpose. But it was a long and a hard struggle. Thrice the Germans were thrown back across the Elbe by revolts of the Slavs, in 983, in 1018, in 1066. The conquest was not completed until the Wendish Crusade (1147) finally subdued Mecklenburg and Brandenburg beyond all hope of Slav recovery, and German domination was firmly fixed in the country by the vigorous rule of Henry the Lion and Albrecht the Bear.

But the Germans fought for the mouths of the Baltic rivers not only in order to capture the Wendish trade in the Baltic, but

<sup>1</sup> Herbordus, II, 25, in the middle of the twelfth century calls Stettin "civitatem antiquissimam et nobilissimam in terra Pomeranorum matremque civitatum." It is first mentioned under the name Schinesge in 995 (*Codex Pomer. Diplom.*, No. 503, p. 1026). Danzig appears as Gyddanizc in 997 (*Vita S. Adalberti-SS. rerum Pruss.*, I, 228). It is interesting to observe that though the center of trade shifted from the island of Wollin, whose period of greatest prosperity was during the Danish occupation of the Baltic seaboard, to the mainland at Stettin and Danzig after the German conquest of Mecklenburg and Pomerania in the twelfth century, yet the configuration of the coast has not changed since the Middle Ages. For Adam of Bremen, II, 19, describes the three mouths of the Oder in terms which would hold today. Adam of Bremen, III, 19, describes the Obodrite city of Wiligrad (Mecklenburg) as "Magnopolis . . . civitas inclita Obodritorum," and mentions Ratzeburg and Stargard-Alt-Lübeck-Oldenburg, which Helmold I, 12, characterizes as "antiqua civitas." There is an excellent history of Danzig by Hirsch, and one of Stettin by Wehrmann. Stargard has found an historian in F. Boll.

<sup>2</sup> The word "Wend" was used (and still is) by north Germans to describe the Slavs of the Elbe and the Baltic coast, without distinction of tribe. The name was derived from the Wenidi or Winidi, a formidable Slavonic tribe in the time of Charlemagne, and came to be used to indicate the Slavs much as the word *waelsch* (English Welsh) was employed to indicate foreigners in general, e.g., French and Italians. A modern parallel is the Boer word Uitlander (Outlander) in South Africa, to describe the English and Portuguese there.

also to find an exit for their own inland commerce. The natural exits for products of the German hinterland were the Elbe, the Trave, the Peene, and the Oder rivers. The Germans always controlled the mouth of the Elbe, but its middle course was not permanently secured until after 1147, when it became a German river from Meissen to the sea. Nor was full control of the other rivers acquired until after the Wendish Crusade.

Heinemann thinks<sup>1</sup> that even as early as the Saxon period (919-1024) the border traffic between the Germans and the Wends was of sufficient importance to be taxed; but Guttman believes this to be *ganz unwahrscheinlich*.<sup>2</sup> However, the growth of German trans-Elbean trade can be obscurely traced even in Saxon times. In 975 Otto II, at the prayer of Adalbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, granted protection "to merchants dwelling in Magdeburg" and freedom "everywhere in our realm, in Christian and in barbarous lands, to go and come unmolested."<sup>3</sup> In 1025 Conrad II reaffirmed this decree and specific mention is made of the trade of Magdeburger merchants on the Havel and the Spree, i.e., in Brandenburg.<sup>4</sup> Intermediate between these two dates we have the statement of Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg (died 1018), whose youth was spent in Magdeburg, that he had seen guards in the churches watching the goods of merchants deposited there for safe-keeping.<sup>5</sup> These merchants were both Germans and Jews.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Markgraf Gero*, 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Forschungen zur brand. und preuss. Gesch.*, IX, 417, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, I, No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Boehmer, *Regesta*, No. 1272; Stumpf, *Regesta*, No. 1871.

<sup>5</sup> Thietmar, *Chronicon*, I, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 1; IV, 12; VI, 16. *MGH*, Dip. I, p. 416, associates German and Jew merchants together. These slaves were recruited from the border warfare between the German and the Slav peoples, and also from the internecine strife between the Slav tribes (Adam of Bremen, *Descriptio*, 18). The strife also between the Danes and the Germans furnished slaves. Helmold, II, 13, relates that 700 Danish captives were exposed for sale in the market at Mecklenburg in 1168. Thietmar of Merseburg deplored the barbarity of the Saxons in dividing up the families of prisoners when sold as slaves (Giesebrecht, *Wendische Geschichten*, I, 35). Many of these slaves were exported via Venice to the Mohammedan lands. The Jews controlled the border slave trade, upon which they paid a tax, Thietmar, VI, 12; Gerdes, *Gesch. d. d. volkes* I, 357 and n. 3; 359. Würzburg was an important

The Slavonic reaction of 1018 must have given this frontier trade a set-back. Yet by the middle of the century it is evident from Adam of Bremen that adventurous German merchants were again penetrating into the Wendish lands, going as far as Wollin, which was eight days' journey from Hamburg. They seem to have been unmolested provided they did not parade their faith. Apparently these merchants, or others like them, also went on to the Swedish coast and to Ostrogard-Novgorod, which was eighteen days' journey farther.<sup>1</sup>

When we reach the twelfth century evidence accumulates in regard to this trans-Elbean and Baltic trade. In the Obodrite country (it did not become the Duchy of Mecklenburg until after the conquest in 1147), at Stargard, later Germanized into Oldenburg, which was the capital of the Obodrite duke Pribislav, there was a considerable colony of German merchants settled in 1129.<sup>2</sup> German trading operations extended clear to the island of Rügen, whose inhabitants were still fiercely pagan, and where the famous Slavonic fane of Arcona was located,<sup>3</sup> and before the storming and capture of this sanctuary by a joint German and Danish expedition in 1168, it was necessary for the merchants not only to avoid parading their Christianity, but also

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base of slave supply in 1006. The better public opinion reprobated the practice, yet it flourished for centuries. Margrave Gunzelin was criticized for selling Wendish captives to Jew merchants (Thietmar, VI, 36); the Bohemians were reckoned "bad Christians" because they disposed of captives in war to the Jews (*Vita S. Adalberti*, ch. 12, cf. *Vita Johan. Gorz.*, ch. 121. *MGH*, SS. IV, 371); Henry II in 1012 endeavored to restrain the traffic ("Ann. Qued.," *MGH*, SS. III, 81). Slaves are mentioned as articles of commerce in a Bavarian tariff list on the Danube in 904 (Dümmeler, *Ostfrank. Reich*, III, 533). Slaves are often mentioned with transfers of land (see Gerdes, I, 418-20 and Waitz, V, 207-8, for references. In 914, 23 slaves and 27 *Hufen* of land were exchanged for 30 slaves and 19 *Hufen*, which shows that a slave was valued about at the price of a *Hufe*).

<sup>1</sup> Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, II, 19; *Descriptio*, 18, 21; Helmold, I, 6. The Gothland merchants had reached Novgorod long before the twelfth century (Bächtold, *op. cit.*, 256, n. 864; Bugge, *op. cit.*, 251). A charter of 1023 mentions an "international" bridge where the German merchants changed wares with the Russians. A Russian chronicle mentions St. Peter's Church in 1184. First mention of the factory at Novgorod is made in 1199 (Bächtold, *op. cit.*, 256, n. 865).

<sup>2</sup> Helmold, I, 48: "a mercatoribus quorum non parvam coloniam."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 38.

to offer substantial presents to the god in order to be permitted to buy and to sell.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Roni, or Rugians, conditions of trade were so primitive that strips of linen cloth served for currency, like wampum among the Indians of America.<sup>2</sup>

Every year, in November, at the time of the "big wind" a fleet of western craft came for dried fish and furs.<sup>3</sup>

This Alt-Lübecker merchant group even penetrated into the Baltic and sought to capture the ancient Swedish-Russian trade of Novgorod and the Varangian route and had a "factory" or trading post on the island of Gothland. For in 1134 the emperor Lothar II took them under imperial protection.<sup>4</sup> We know little more about this farther commerce until the formation of the Hanseatic League and the incorporation of the Wisby group with it in 1298.

Of the trade of the Pomeranian mainland in the first half of the twelfth century we have interesting information in Ebbo's *Life of Otto of Bamberg*, who twice visited Pomerania (in 1124 and again in 1128), and also in the *Dialogus* of Herbordus.<sup>5</sup> With the fall of the Jomsburg vikings Wollin had begun to

<sup>1</sup> Helmold, I, 6 (p. 17). Cf. Breska, in *Forschungen zur deutschen Gesch.*, XXII, 585-87.

<sup>2</sup> "Porro apud Ranos non habetur moneta, nec est in comporandis rebus nummorum consuetudo, sed quicquid in foro mercari volueris, panno lineo comparabis. Aurum et argentum, quod forte per rapinos et captiones hominum vel undecumque adepti sunt, aut uxorum suarum cultibus impendunt, aut in erarium dei sui conferunt."—Helmold, I, 38; cf. 36. This cloth currency was also once current among the Bohemians. In Czech the word for *linen* and the word *to number* come from the same root (Lippert, *Sozial. Gesch. Böhmens*, I, 84).

<sup>3</sup> Helmold, I, 48 and II, 12; *Ann. Erphesf.*, 1135 (MGH, SS. VI, 540), supply other details as to the nature of this commerce. There is still a little village, now a watering-place, near Stettin named Heringsdorf. For the importance of the Baltic herring trade see Bächtold, *Der norddeutsche Handel im 12. und beginnenden 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1910), 261. In Herbordi, *Dialogus*, III, 30, and Ebonis, *Vita Ottonis*, III, 23, is a curious account of how the conversion of the peoples of the mainland of Pomerania interrupted for some time the trade with the Rugians, who would have nothing to do with the converted Slavs.

<sup>4</sup> The original charter of Lothar is lost. But it is referred to by Henry the Lion in a privilege dated October 18, 1163, granted to the merchants of Lübeck (*Lübecker Urkb.*, I, 4, n. 3. Cf. Richter, *op. cit.*, III, 690, notes; Jaffe, I, 155).

<sup>5</sup> *Vita*, II, 41; *Dialogus*, I, 36; II, 7, 12, 28; III, 1.

decline, though when Adam of Bremen wrote in the middle of the eleventh century it was still the most important port on the Pomeranian coast.<sup>1</sup>

By the next century, however, Stettin appears as the *totius Pomeraniae metropolis*, although it could not possibly have had a population of from six to seven thousand, as said.<sup>2</sup> Its chief rival was Camin. The spongy, marshy soil, upon which both towns were built was a serious drawback. Stettin was girded with swamps,<sup>3</sup> and the streets in Camin were so miry that bridges, which seem to have been nothing but planks, were everywhere. Otto himself fell off one of these planks and was pitched into the mud.<sup>4</sup> The people were hospitable, though rude and crude in manners.<sup>5</sup> Each town had a *forum* where business was done, and a certain degree of money economy obtained.<sup>6</sup> There were warehouses, chiefly, one imagines, for the curing and storing of fish. Fishing was the main activity of the inhabitants, though furs<sup>7</sup> and slaves were also articles of commerce.<sup>8</sup> The herring ran in shoals in the Baltic; but there was a brisk trade in fresh-water fish, too.<sup>9</sup> The coastwise trade must have been considerable, for Otto easily traveled by water from Wollin to Stettin.<sup>10</sup>

By 1125 it is evident that there was a through route from the eastern parts of "New" Germany to the farther Baltic coast. Halle, on the Saale River, was the clearing-house and emporium of all this eastern German commerce. Both times when Otto of Bamberg made his trips to Pomerania he "stocked up" at the fair (*nundinae*) in Halle, and thence traveled by boat down the Saale to the Elbe, down the Elbe to Werben at the mouth of the Havel, and up the Havel and down the Peene to Stettin.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta*, II, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Herbordus, II, 5, 25, 34; Sommerfeld, *Gesch. d. Germanisierung des Herzogtums Pommern*, in Schmoller's *Forschungen*, XIII, Heft 5, p. 54, note.

<sup>3</sup> Herbordus, II, 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 24.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 41.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 41; III, 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 9 and 26.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 37; III, 14.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 36; III, 1. For further information on this trade see Giesebrecht, *Wend. Gesch.*, I, 16-35; Herzberg, *Gesch. d. Stadt Halle im Mittelalter*, 1889; Sommerfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-66. It seems to me that Wendt, *op. cit.*, II, 6, under-

If one were not already convinced of the activity of lower Germany in the Baltic trade, the founding of Lübeck in 1143 by Adolph of Holstein ought to resolve his doubt. For its establishment was a turning-point in the history of North Germany. The site was not unknown before. In days gone by Kruto, the powerful Wendish chieftain who broke the German domination east of the Elbe by the great rebellion in 1066,<sup>1</sup> had erected a castle surrounded by a wooden palisade on the large island where the Trave and the Wochnitz flowed together. Adolph's clear eye saw the advantage of the location in spite of its swampy nature. The new place, which was called New Lübeck, to distinguish it from Alt-Lübeck (the Wendish Stargard, now Oldenburg), and later merely Lübeck, soon became an important port.<sup>2</sup>

The rapid growth of Lübeck<sup>3</sup> aroused the resentment of Henry the Lion, for it cut into the trade of Bardwick, Charlemagne's ancient trading post, which belonged to the Saxon duke, and in order to get a share of the Baltic trade Henry founded Löwenstadt, named after himself, on the Wochnitz between Lübeck and Ratzeburg.<sup>4</sup> But his new city did not prosper. Lübeck, as Helmold says, "was more prosperous and better located."<sup>5</sup> Henry the Lion was not the man to brook a successful rival. In 1158 he seized Lübeck by force, removed

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estimates this commerce. For routes by road and water in Germany in this time, see Kretschmer, *Historische Geographie von Mitteleuropa*, pp. 212-13; Gasner, *Zum deutschen Strassenwesen von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Mitte des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 31-58; Lauffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 f.; Knull, *Historische Geographie Deutschlands im Mittelalter*, Breslau, 1903. The Baltic trade to South Germany was mainly up the Mulde and down the Nab to Regensburg, the former taking the place of the Saale when that stream was made the eastern edge of the German world in Charlemagne's time. In Bohemia a trade route ran from Prague up the Moldau and over the divide to Linz on the Danube. Another road was up the Egger—or through the Nollendorf Pass—and down the Nab to Regensburg.

<sup>1</sup> See my article in *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1916, 228-30.

<sup>2</sup> Helmold, I, 57 and 63; *Ep. Sidonis* (in Schmeidler's ed. Helmold, p. 245); Hoffmann, *Gesch. der Stadt Lübeck*, 1889.

<sup>3</sup> Helmold, I, 48, 57, 63, 71, 76, 85.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 86. Cf. Simonsfeld, *Jahrbuch*, I, 555-56.

<sup>5</sup> Helmold, I, 90.

the markets of Bardwick and Löwenstadt there and established a mint. It soon became the emporium of the whole Baltic trade. Merchant vessels from England, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and even Russia crowded the port.<sup>1</sup> Stettin was Lübeck's closest rival.<sup>2</sup> The Low German speech became the language of trade throughout the whole north, and the Elb-slavischen speech, which hitherto had been necessary for the conduct of Baltic trade,<sup>3</sup> gradually died out. More than a hundred years later the records of the Hanseatic League began to be written in it. The destruction of Bardwick in 1189 by Henry the Lion, after his return from exile, further contributed to Lübeck's growth.<sup>4</sup>

A similar progress of German commerce, although not in the same degree, is observable at this time also farther inland.

In Brandenburg, when Albrecht the Bear fixed his capital upon the Spree, where Berlin now is situated, there were already there two Slavonic villages, Kollin (German, Kölln) on the island and Berlin on the right bank. Both names are of Slavonic origin. The German incomers settled on the river edge, while Kölln was chiefly inhabited by Wendish fisher folk. It is not without significance that the first Christian church erected on the island was dedicated to St. Peter, the fisherman, and that the German settlers in Berlin built their first church to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of merchants. The fact is typical of the difference between the two communities. In Berlin today the island

<sup>1</sup> Helmold, I, 86. Arnold of Lübeck, II, 5. Henry the Lion founded the monastery of St. Mary and St. John in Lübeck (1177) and because of slenderness of episcopal revenues there endowed it with half of the villa Renseveld (*Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck*, I, n. 5), a second "villula" across the river called Cleve, but in same parish, and a third of the tithes in Greater and Lesser Gladenbrugge (parish of Sigeberg) and in Stubbendorf. Certain property within the city of Lübeck (*curies*) bringing eight marks rent annually and fields around Lübeck were also donated. The duke's liberality, we are assured, stirred the envy of others.

<sup>2</sup> Wehrmann, *Gesch. von Pommern* (1904), I, 95, 112; Bächtold, 246: record of a citizen of Bamberg who had lived for years in Stettin as a merchant, and at his death left his property to the church in Stettin.

<sup>3</sup> Guttmann, *op. cit.*, IX, 408; Bugge, *op. cit.*, p. 240, n. 3; Iken, *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, XVII, 1895.

<sup>4</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, V, 2.

part of the city is known as Alt-Kölln, where the fish market even yet is hard by the ancient church of St. Peter's. The two communities each received a separate charter and were not united into a single city until the fourteenth century, when Berlin became a member of the Hanseatic League.<sup>1</sup>

Ably seconded by the energetic archbishop of Magdeburg, Wichmann, the margrave furthered the immigration of settlers, among them many Dutch and Flemish colonists, planted towns and granted town charters and commercial privileges which were models of their kind; on the rivers of the Mark plied the barges of merchants, whose goods were protected from brigands and predatory attacks of the hostile Wends by armed guards.<sup>2</sup> Warehouse privileges and toll stations were established at convenient points, such as Werben and Wittenberg on the Elbe, Potsdam and Heiligensee on the Havel.<sup>3</sup> The number of mints shows that a money economy prevailed by this time.<sup>4</sup> The traffic must have been almost exclusively in raw products, especially furs,<sup>5</sup> though the German colonists must have drawn some supplies, particularly domestic utensils and farm tools from farther west, and the church and the margrave's court created some demand for the luxuries of older Germany. There is no doubt that the towns of the margraviate commercially prospered under the enlightened régime and efficient protection given them by Albrecht the Bear.<sup>6</sup>

But one must not exaggerate the size or prosperity of these towns. In the twelfth century they were much behind the older cities of Central and Western Germany both in wealth and population, and, indeed, not until well down in modern times did Berlin and Frankfort-on-the-Oder come to rival Cologne or Nürnberg, or Frankfort or Lübeck. Brandenburg was located on the outer edge of the great commercial zone created in

<sup>1</sup> Lavissee, *La Marche de Brandebourg*, pp. 134-35 and notes.

<sup>2</sup> Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, II, 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 103; Lavissee, p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 97, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Lavissee, *op. cit.*, 231-32.

<sup>6</sup> Tuttle, *History of Prussia*, I, chap. i.

Northern German by the formation of the Hanseatic League. Beyond this periphery, in Poland and Bohemia, German commercial activity was slight until the fifteenth century. In Prague, in the reign of Wratislav (1061-92), there is mention of a group of Bavarian merchants, but of none from the north.<sup>1</sup> In Poland there is scarcely a trace of German commerce before 1175.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand many Rhenish and Flemish merchants are found down in Southeast Germany in the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Wendt, II, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* A papal privilege of 1155 for Breslau contains only one German name in a long list.

<sup>3</sup> Lamprecht, *Deutsche Gesch.*, III, 197.